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THE MANPOWER POTENTIAL IN OUR ETHNIC GROUPS, SEMINAR ON MANPOWER POLICY AND PROGRAM.

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THE MAJOR PART OF THIS DOCUMENT IS AN ADDRESS GIVEN BEFORE A MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION SEMINAR BY EDWARD T. HALL. ENTITLED "THE MANPOWER POTENTIAL IN OUR ETHNIC GROUPS," THE TALK OFFERS AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE DIFFERENCES IN TALENTS AND SKILLS AMONG VARIOUS ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THE U.S. IT IS POINTED OUT THAT ESKIMOS AND SOME AMERICAN INDIAN TRIBES HAVE GREAT MECHANICAL APTITUDES WHICH CAN BE DIRECTED INTO SUCH TRADES AS MOTOR REPAIRING AND THE ASSEMBLING OF ELECTRICAL INSTRUMENTS. NEGROES ARE SAID TO HAVE GREAT SKILL AT INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS AND THUS WOULD FUNCTION WELL IN HUMAN SERVICES CAREERS. IT IS FELT THAT NOW IS A TIME WHEN THERE IS A CRITICAL NEED FOR MAXIMUM MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND UTILIZATION AND FOR EFFORTS TO COMBAT UNEMPLOYMENT AND POVERTY. IT WOULD BE VALUABLE THEREFORE, TO ORIGINATE TECHNIQUES TO IDENTIFY AND DEVELOP THE UNIQUE, INHERENT SKILLS OF THE VARIOUS ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE NATION AND TO BRING THE APPROPRIATE JOBS INTO THE LOCALES WHERE THESE GROUPS LIVE. THE DOCUMENT CONCLUDES WITH SOME REMARKS BY THE MODERATOR AND A FEW COMMENTS AND QUESTIONS ABOUT THE ADDRESS. THIS DOCUMENT IS ALSO AVAILABLE FROM THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR'S MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION, WASHINGTON, D.C. AND FROM THE DEPARTMENT'S REGIONAL INFORMATION OFFICES. (NH)

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SEMINAR ON MANPOWER POLICY AND PROGRAM

The Manpower Potential in Our Ethnic Groups

by EDWARD T. HALL

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
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MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION
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OPENING REMARKS

Chairman—George L-P Weaver
Assistant Secretary for International Affairs
U.S. Department of Labor

MR. WEAVER: This seminar is the 28th in a series of Seminars on Manpower Policy and Program that I am advised began in April of 1964. The seminars are sponsored by the Department of Labor to provide an opportunity for invited guests and members of the Department to discuss issues raised in the *Manpower Report of the President* and in the development of an active manpower policy.

The speaker for today's seminar is Dr. Edward T. Hall, professor of anthropology, Illinois Institute of Technology. Our moderator is Ambassador or Dr. Ben S. Stephansky, whose more recent post is Executive Secretary of the United States-Puerto Rico Commission on the Status of Puerto Rico. He is our former ambassador to Bolivia.

Dr. Hall, our speaker, has been dedicated to both teaching and research throughout his career. His field of studies has stressed both the economic and cultural aspects of anthropology. He has taught at several schools, including the University of Denver, the Washington School of Psychiatry, Bennington College, and Harvard Business School. He is no stranger to Washington. He directed the training program at the Foreign Service Institute of the State Department from 1950 to 1955. He has served as professor of anthropology at the Illinois Institute of Technology since 1963. He is the author of *Silent Language,* published in 1959. His most recent book, *The Hidden Dimension,* was published in 1966.

I am delighted to present to you Dr. Hall.

The Manpower Potential in Our Ethnic Groups

An Address by Dr. Edward T. Hall

DR. HALL: Some years ago, a young man who had once worked for me was being interviewed as a candidate for a permanent position. Describing himself in the job interview he said, "I'm not an idea man." His interviewer's reply was, "That's good, because we don't want any of *them* around here." It's quite clear that this audience does not share these sentiments—otherwise it would not be listening to an anthropologist talk about manpower.

For at least two generations now, we Americans have assumed that most of the world wanted to be just like us. Out economic success and the prospect of political freedom which brought waves of immigrants to our shores have produced in us a strong form of ethnocentrism. Today a shrinking globe, growing national and ethnic awareness, and the enormity of our urban crisis will eventually force us to give up the self-centered luxury of expecting others to conform to our own north European, middle-class, work-oriented norms.

Our Nation was founded on principles guaranteed to protect religious and political freedom and later legislation was designed to prevent economic domination by any one group. Yet only recently have we begun to realize that the imposition of culture can be a form of tyranny against which people have little defense. We must face the fact that in America we have not protected the cultures of our ethnic minorities. Those groups who have managed to maintain a strong family organization and those who are culturally

industrious or who stress the development of the intellect have fared well. Other groups have been less fortunate. The American Indian and the Negro in particular, for a variety of reasons, have failed to integrate into the larger society and instead of being looked upon as assets, they have been viewed, albeit covertly, as liabilities.

The Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona, for example, have managed to hold on to a life style not too different from the one they had in 1540 when Coronado first set foot on the desert sands of the Southwest. The truth of the matter is that certain aspects of American culture, such as the low status of old people, the violation of nature, the pressure of time, the shallowness of personal commitments to other human beings, and the impersonality of our bureaucracies, have all posed enormous stumbling blocks to the Indians. They have also raised severe doubts in the Indian's mind concerning the advantages of Western culture. Many Indians have preferred living out a slow tribal death to abandoning their own culture in favor of our ways.

Culture Resists Change

Culture is a set of readymade solutions and alternatives to the environment, both physical and human. While culture is learned, it has nevertheless proved to be extraordinarily resistant to change. There is a built-in paradox concerning the acceptance of the reality of culture, not only for Americans, but for everyone else in the world, too. As Americans, we feel ambivalent about making distinctions that differentiate one of us from another. In fact, a significant amount of the psychological research conducted in the past 50 years reflects this bias and has been directed towards proving that everyone is indeed alike regardless of ethnic affiliations.

The motives of the psychologists, of course, are above reproach. They have used their science to combat prejudice and discrimination against many of our minority groups. For this reason, to talk about the manpower potential in an ethnic group is to raise questions about the values held by many Americans. To use such a title in a paper implies that some groups are high in skills and that others are low, and this is precisely what I do mean.

My own view of culture is a broad one and includes such differences as those between men and women. To cite one simple example: By now, most of you know that when calculating machines were introduced into offices, male operators failed to obtain results that even approached the machine's capacity to produce. Women, on the other hand, did demonstrably better than men in getting these machines to perform. The difference is probably both *cultural* and physiological.

But let's move further afield. I would also imagine that most of this audience has either read or heard about the rather remarkable skill of the Iroquois and Mohawk Indians as steelworkers. Their loss would, I understand, put a very considerable crimp in that part of the construction industry responsible for erecting skyscrapers.

To give another example, the Eskimos, to the astonishment of innumerable white men in the past, have demonstrated rather extraordinary mechanical talent. Almost any oldtimer with Arctic experience can bend your ear for hours about how Eskimos stood around while white men tinkered with outboard motors. Then, when the white men gave up, the Eskimo went over and with a minor adjustment had the motor humming perfectly. The old long-haired Navaho Indian, possibly for different reasons, also seems to have more than his share of mechanical skills. In the cases that I have just mentioned, all have demonstrated a rather unusual capacity for fixing machines after someone of European heritage had given up. There are, of course, *individuals* in our own culture who are highly gifted mechanically, but this is not what I am talking about. I am referring, instead, to group norms.

One of the consequences of our own cultural bias has been a rather remarkable failure to reward talents *outside our own cultural mold.* Fortunately, things are changing, but not rapidly enough. I would like to introduce the notion that all peoples have particular talents—culturally produced—some of which can be translated into skills useful to mid-20th century American life. It is not always easy to identify talent and translate it into action, however.

Indians Have Special Talents

I am reminded of an instance dating back a number of years when an executive of a large Chicago-based electrical firm who used to hunt and fish in Wisconsin tried to interest his company in building a small plant on the Chippewa Indian reservation in northern Wisconsin. He had learned to see past the surface poverty and misery of the Chippewa. Not only did he find himself identifying with them strongly, but he felt something should be done to help them help themselves. He reasoned that the Chippewa women's skill in beadwork might be translated to the manufacture of electrical instruments, particularly those that required a high degree of finger dexterity.

The executive was singularly unsuccessful in interesting his own company in taking a chance on the Indians. Those familiar with the Chippewa and the terrible conditions on their reservation tended to think of them as shiftless and lazy. It was difficult for them to imagine that the Chippewa's skill in beadwork could be translated into winding shining coils of electric instruments.

Fortunately for all concerned, the executive did not give up easily. Blocked within his own firm, he finally put up his own money to erect a small plant for the Indians. It proved to be a highly successful operation. Absenteeism was zero, there were few problems with quality control, and productivity was high. The plant, located in the Lac du Flambeau area, was close enough to the Indians' homes so that none of them had to leave their families. Subsequent investigation demonstrated one of the reasons for their high productivity and minimal absenteeism. The Indian women were training their female relatives on the job to fill in for them, and when, for one reason or other, they themselves could not turn up, a fully trained female substitute stepped in.

In other instances, the White River Apache of Arizona proved to be excellent cattlemen once the Government stopped doing everything for them. The Navaho Indians are now running one of the most modern sawmills in the world not too far from Window Rock, Ariz. In addition, the Navahos have recently purchased a bank in Arizona and hired banking personnel to teach them how to run it.

Judged against the backdrop of United States industry, these examples may seem insignificant. But it is the lesson that can be learned from them that is important. For decades now, industry has gambled on research, product design, and marketing. It is to such gambles that much of our significant progress can be traced. Why not begin placing a few bets on discovering new ways to tap the hidden manpower talents in our many ethnic groups?

Consider the American Indians. There are approximately 550,000 of them, of whom slightly over half still live on reservations. Their average income is $1,500 per family. Out of a labor force of 120,000 on reservations, nearly half are unemployed.[1] This is at a time when the U.S. average unemployment rate is 5.5 percent. In other words, the culturally different are the culturally deprived.

The American Indian provides us with a challenge and an opportunity to learn which should not be overlooked. In the early days of the Point IV program, much of the experience in working with other cultures and introducing change was provided by the men and women who had previously worked with the American Indian during the early 1930's. In the American Indian groups we have many opportunities to develop techniques for matching skills, capabilities, and potentials to our own national needs without destroying the Indian's dignity or his way of life, and allowing him to change at his own rate.

No group that I know anything about has ever benefited from feeling that they were a drain on others. Nor have they gained a sense of dignity from failure to participate creatively in national cultures. At one time, American culture prided itself on Yankee ingenuity. I would suggest that it would not be out of line to put some of our Yankee ingenuity to work in discovering ways to tap the many hidden skills of the American Indian. The knowledge and experience gained could then be used as a means of attacking some of the more massive and complex ethnic problems facing us in our cities.

Another group that needs imaginative treatment of the type I have in mind is the rather significant number of poor Appalachian

[1] Data are for 1960 and from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S. Department of the Interior.

and Ozark whites who are as far removed from the cultural mainstream of American life as the Puerto Rican, the Mexican, or lower class southern Negro.

Unique Capabilities are Needed

We all know that things people like to do, they tend to do well. We are fast approaching a time when we are going to have to know much more about what people like to do and what their natural talents are. Some of these talents are already sorely needed.

For example, the cultures of Spanish origin seem to be able to produce human beings who have a humanizing effect upon bureaucracy. It is doubtful if anyone would question the need for humanizing our bureaucracies, yet humanizing bureaucracies is something that those of us of north European heritage cannot seem to accomplish. The Spanish group also has a natural interest in building systems and in planning. Their interest seems to fall off, once the planning stage has been completed. North European cultures, however, produce people who are rather well equipped to carry things out. We must begin to learn to match our talents to our needs.

What I have been talking about is not a series of pipedreams, but has been observed in actual working situations in which people from different ethnic groups have been thrown together. I am thinking now of a large architectural office on the West Coast that hired two Latin American draftsmen. Everyone in the office noticed a change in the atmosphere. For one thing, the work tempo of the office was more varied and people had more fun. The owners of the firm, realizing that something rather significant was going on, had sufficient insight to let things alone. In spite of a certain amount of "horsing around" the work got done, and quality did not suffer.

In another instance, an electronics research firm in Cambridge, Mass. developed a reputation for being able to solve problems that had stumped other firms. The reason, while not obvious to everyone, was rather simple. The partners in the firm had been willing to hire engineers and scientists from a number of highly diverse

cultures, individuals who represented the major cultural areas of the globe. Once this group had learned to work together, it apparently could solve practically any problem given to it. Much of the greatness of this country springs from the fact that it was able to exploit the talents of the many groups that came to its shores—before they have become integrated and had lost their own culturally unique way of doing things.

You have probably been wondering when I would get to the Negro. There seems to be general agreement that we are not using Negro talent, particularly that included among the hard-core unemployed, lower class, ghetto Negroes. A recent article in *Newsweek* based on Labor Department figures stated that a 7.8-percent unemployment rate for Negroes erred on the optimistic side. The Negro is not just having to cope with the culture of poverty, but other deep cultural differences as well. For some time, I have been conducting a rather painstaking research program in an attempt to discover some of the hidden distortions in the communicative process that make it difficult for lower class Negroes to get or hold a job. This research is still in process and it would be premature to discuss results at this time. There are some things that I can say, however, which have to do with what one might call "life style."

In discussing job expectations with Negroes, we discovered that great emphasis was placed on finding the right kind of a job where "the people . . . were nice." At first my assistant and I interpreted this to mean that our subjects wanted to work where people were not prejudiced against them and did not discriminate. It later turned out that much more was involved and it went much deeper, cutting across a number of the basic dynamisms of our north European culture.

Negroes Have Interpersonal Skills

Many Negroes apparently do not think that the whites whom they know are well rounded. One of them stated it as follows: "Whitey is just one big brain." What our subjects were referring to apparently is the capacity, or rather the lack of it, to humanize daily routines. There is something about the scale and impersonality of American enterprise, especially Government enterprise, that

is repugnant to the Negro. He is used to relating to people, in a deeply significant way. What is more, he has developed skills for doing this. The Negro's skill at interpersonal relations is an asset that we have failed to capitalize on, one which could be exploited much more fully than it is today. There are a few instances where this has been done very successfully. At Chicago State Hospital, many so-called "culturally disadvantaged" Negroes are proving themselves, with the minimum of training, to be highly successful therapeutic aides in the treatment of the mentally ill.

Dr. Myrna Cassel, an economist, made the following observations: "The manpower shortage is tragically acute, particularly in the mental health field. We cannot afford to think as we build new facilities and try to improve old, that we will be able to do it with just professionals coming out of graduate school. Where do we go then? To those out of work, even the hard-core unemployed." What mental patients apparently need is someone who really cares, someone who can help them to get back on their feet, and who can reintroduce them into society. This is the very quality that many Negroes bring with them. In fact, one might say that the needs on both sides match. As one Negro aide declared: "I worked on the assembly line, but I never felt it counted. Working with machines, you never feel it matters. I am glad to be part of this instead." [2]

I should mention that not very much is known, technically, about skills as a function of ethnic affiliation. This is due in part to our reluctance to talk about ethnic differences or even to admit that they exist. It is also due to the fact that all peoples are likely to take for granted those skills and talents which come easily and to pay more attention to those that do not. There is, however, a need for the kind of research that is directed towards finding out in very simple terms what it is that people do well and trying to find some way to improve and use these skills.

This brings me to my next point. In the United States we are able to determine with reasonable accuracy the number of Americans looking for jobs. Our knowledge, of course, becomes less precise as cultural distance grows. But what we apparently do not have is a large-scale inventory of jobs looking for people. We also

[2] Lillian Calhoun, *Sun Times*, December 26, 1966, p. 82.

need to project our future manpower needs from 2 to 10 years hence, and integrate this with job training on the local and national level. It would seem that there is a real need for some experimentation and development on a large scale using a series of pilot projects designed to identify and develop the many skills inherent in our ethnic groups. We need many more jobs on Indian reservations, many more jobs in the Deep South, and in Appalachia. The growth of our cities has been much too rapid. We should begin to think about taking jobs to the people. Lac du Flambeau is a day's drive north of Chicago, yet this proved to be no stumbling block in setting up a small plant suitable to the skills of the Chippewa.

Need Education in Various Fields

My talk this afternoon did not deal with the usual figures of employment and unemployment. Hopefully, it is an idea piece oriented towards future research. We live in a world of such rapid change that quite often today's policy paper is out of date before it is off the presses. Therefore, I want to take this opportunity to look ahead a bit and remind you about the rapidly approaching time when automation is going to result in greatly increased leisure time. Our American heritage, strongly influenced by values from northern Europe, has produced an economy in which the very thing we value the most—work—may someday be restricted to a privileged few. The rest of us will have to be reoriented toward creative use of our time.

Nobody really knows what the future holds or the kind of world we will be living in even 10 or 20 years from now. One thing is certain, however, and that is the manpower needs of the future are going to become increasingly varied. This has been the case with each succeeding generation. To meet these needs we can no longer afford to leave to chance the development of talent in "the other America," but we must take the initiative in seeing to it that everyone has access to a first-class education up to and including graduate training, regardless of where he lives or what his ethnic affiliation.

A further point that has come to my attention in recent years is that man's senses function quite differently. Therefore, man per-

ceives the world in different ways. This means that education in the future should not be designed only for those who are word oriented, but should include curriculums for those who have other skills. We must begin to think in terms of educating people with a talent for design, dance, music, and art. Right now our young are already expressing a need to fill certain voids in our life style. Perhaps our ethnic groups can contribute some of their special skills in human relations, in art, and in music for the enrichment of us all.

DISCUSSION PERIOD

Moderator—Dr. Ben S. Stephansky
Executive Secretary
United States-Puerto Rico Commission on the Status of Puerto Rico

MR. WEAVER: Thank you very much. I think all of us were fascinated with the word pictures you drew.

Most of us in this audience, I believe, know our moderator very well. But we tend to think of him as one of the activists in the area of international relations and quite often forget the more reflective side of his nature. I had to be reminded again that Ben Stephansky started out in the educational field, that he has been an instructor at the University of Wisconsin, a member of the faculty of Sarah Lawrence College and the University of Chicago, and was also a fellow here at Brookings. We think of him, however, as a very successful and active labor attache, one of the few that we note with pride has graduated to ambassadorial rank. I enjoyed visiting and observing Dr. Stephansky functioning as an ambassador. One realized that he had left the ranks of labor attaches. But his habits of thinking and habits of working and his continued preoccupation with people had the mark of a graduate of the labor attache corps.

I would like to compliment those who planned this program because I can think of no better pair to stimulate your thinking this afternoon than our speaker and our moderator. It gives me great pleasure now to turn this phase of the program over to our own Mr. Ambassador, Dr. Stephansky.

DR. STEPHANSKY: Thank you, Mr. Weaver, for your generous introduction.

I am reminded to remark again, as I have on other occasions when I have found myself in the presence of that eminently human science of anthropology, "bless the science and bless the anthropologists." Man, in this branch of science, is conceived and studied as the center of concern. And one is encouraged to hope that "man may yet prevail."

You have thrown out for us, Dr. Hall, an extraordinary net—a net that is capacious, a net of ideas, not only for future research, but for contemporary concerns. You accented for us, and it is a proper accent, that a new technology must indeed produce a new human science. You have also emphasized that a new set of problems of this generation and those already foreseeable for the next one foretells the agenda of research for the constant process of human discovery that lies before us, in order that our society continue to be a human-centered society.

I am going to take the prerogative, as the moderator, to note a slight contradiction in two aspects of your remarks this afternoon. On the one hand, you emphasize the massive imposition of our culture on our ethnic minority groups, a "north European," "work-centered" type of culture. You suggest that if groups don't measure up to its norms, we tend to forget them, to "omit" them. To me this suggests a kind of passive, or impersonal discrimination.

In contrast to that, there is another and more active form of discrimination which operates for reasons not necessarily related to the ability of groups to live up to our cultural norms. Therefore, instead of trying to impose our work-centered culture, we tend actively to separate, to ghettoize and to create nonparticipating and nonacculturated segments of society. It is these two strands of "active" and of "passive" discrimination that I seem to feel do not quite hold together as part of the same problem of discrimination —or do they?

DR. HALL: I have never really understood discrimination and prejudice, except insofar as it represents a reaction to something which is different. Differences produce anxiety which takes unpredictable forms. I think perhaps I should turn it around and think of myself when I was quite young. I was working for the Indian

Bureau in Arizona. I can remember at this time that very, very few of the Navajo that I had working with me spoke English. I was very much aware that I was different. As I was with Navajo 24 hours a day, in many cases I would be the only white face within a hundred miles. It was not until later on that I learned that the Navajo places tremendous emphasis on the individual. Here the north European component was the one that was different.

But the problem may be resolved somewhat as follows: I have been studying in the last few years what happens to small animals when they become overcrowded. There are some things an anthropologist can extrapolate from the lower orders of life, because they are a little simpler than people. I learned that animals very seldom fight. One of the reasons they don't fight is because they *contest* for who is "top dog." The contest very often has to do with who occupies what territory in the central field of things. The ones that occupy a particular territory are the ones that usually reproduce themselves. Contests take place on the edge of the territory. However, if you pick one animal up and drop him in the middle of another animal's territory, an awful fight develops. The two are likely to kill each other. I am not suggesting here that the territory is the thing, although this is a very important factor.

When you take the contests apart, you find out that they involve what we call "action chains." An action chain can be seen in such a process as making a date with a girl. First you get her name. You have to meet her, be introduced, I should say, although times are changing. But there is a whole sequence in the dating process which is like a little dance. The steps are in order. If you break the sequence then you have to go back to the beginning.

In many of the conflicts of the world that I have observed, what has happened is the equivalent of somebody being picked up and dropped in somebody else's territory, without a chance to play through the dance. The dance gets broken and something escalates because we don't read each other's silent languages. The dialogue of words cannot follow. We are dealing here with a communication on many different levels. Part of peoples' problem is that they have not learned to communicate on the nonverbal, as well as the verbal, level. They get negative reinforcement for this because they

don't know each other and they cannot predict what the other person is going to do next.

This is the simplest explanation of one of the things that happens in discrimination. There are also some very real political factors and economic factors. Most of us don't realize how personally we feel about each other. Most of the things that we do that we feel very personal about, we share. If someone does not turn up on time, and you are brought up in a culture that emphasizes time, then the message gets read, "You don't like me. You don't respect me," whereas, the other person may not mean this at all. Then stereotyping enters in and all sorts of things begin to happen. This is a once over lightly of a very extraordinary, complex problem. But part of it has to do with the fact that there are these hidden languages.

DR. STEPHANSKY: Before I turn the meeting over to questions and comments, I want to give our chairman an opportunity for any comments or observations.

MR. WEAVER: There was one point at which I was not sure we were thinking along the same level. This occurred when you described some of the contradictions in our culture, particularly in the utilization of Negroes. You used the term "lower class." I want to be sure you were defining this as a state of mind, rather than a state of being, because I kept thinking of a saying with which my grandmother used to bring us back to reality. She used to say that none of us were more than two generations removed from the cotton field.

I was also remembering in my lifetime when the so-called low class was based largely on working under WPA. I was wondering whether you were thinking of "lower class" in terms of a state of mind or as a descriptive definition of a large group of people.

DR. HALL: There is no easy way to talk about social distinctions in the United States. Whatever you say is wrong. However, class in the United States has never been permanent—if it were, we would use the term "caste."

MR. WEAVER: It might be the state of mind of a large group of people.

DR. HALL: We have more taboos against discussing class differences, distinctions, and what not in the United States than we have against discussing sex. It's because this is a culture in which there is probably greater mobility than any culture with which I have ever had any experience. So let's say this is a temporary state. We'll leave it at that.

MR. WEAVER: Does anybody in the audience feel moved?

FROM THE FLOOR: I am curious about what you had to say about the Spanish Americans humanizing bureaucracy. Is there some research evidence perhaps which suggests that the Spanish bureaucracies are more human than the American? I was wondering how this might be interpreted in terms of, let's say, the Iberian Peninsula? What is the role of the Portuguese in India, bureaucratically or euphemistically speaking? There is a comparative analysis here.

DR. HALL: I was not talking about the Iberian Peninsula.

FROM THE FLOOR: I was quite charmed by the sense of time in Italy. I had the feeling that it was a bit more humanistic. I also found that by American standards, Italians had a different concept of efficiency. I would like to know a little more about these comparisons. In terms of the American lower class Negro, I wonder how this extends to the Negroes in Africa, let's say in Nigeria. You know what's going on there now. I am worried about these generalizations.

Quite aside from this, however, I thought you might be interested from a research standpoint in how American occupational classification is being humanized. Until very recently, occupations were classified strictly from a technological standpoint. Jobs were classified not in terms of the people in the jobs but the machines in them. Now the code number is divided between what gets done in the jobs and what human beings do. In other words, they have a bit of this hidden dimension you were talking about, so that it's possible to analyze the job in terms of certain involvements. We have a free movement of workers, let us say free mobility. Since we know what the characteristics of the jobs are, this might in some way influence the ethnic groups in those jobs, you see? You have a reference point for research purposes.

DR. HALL: You are getting a bit too general here because this talk was addressed to *our* ethnic groups, not the Portuguese and not the Spanish, nor has any attempt been made to explain how our own particular ethnic groups happened to get the way they are. Our model was not based on the problems of Africa and what the Portuguese were doing to their people.

My approach is to say, "Look, the Europeans have been in North America for over 400 years. There were some people here when they came. A great many of them have died off rather than acculturate. Others are gradually facing some kind of rapprochement with the north European culture and the machine age, or whatever you choose to call it. The machines do have something to do with what I am talking about because you can see changes in Europe as it becomes increasingly mechanized. Let's use the experience of our own Indians creatively. Look at it as an opportunity to find out what kind of talent they have and how we can best employ them and still permit them some leeway. We should not tear them out of the context of their homes, families, and rural setting and force them into towns where they are ill equipped in many cases to cope with the environment." Mind you, this is a very modest thing which I am suggesting. How do we build on the things that people like to do, and do well, and integrate that into a larger economy?

FROM THE FLOOR: I have two comments to which I would like to have your reaction. First, you said that culture is resistant to change. You pointed out that we have many minority ethnic groups and cultures in the United States and suggested that the majority culture make the change to accommodate the minority cultures—utilize the best that's available. I happen to subscribe to this idea, but the question I have is: Why would you expect a majority culture to accommodate itself and make the change which you say it resists by the fact that it is a culture? To what extent does history support this concept?

Now, the other part. In modern American Jewish literature we see a positive thing taking place. We see the breakdown of the ghetto in America. The Jew almost immediately began to culturate overwhelmingly to the predominant culture, to such an extent that today an organization such as the Workmen's Circle goes to the

extreme to try to pick the elements of the culture to which people can identify. What seems to happen is, when people are lifted out of a place and are permitted to disperse, they acculturate, it seems to me. If this were true for the Negro, as it has been for the middle-class Negro, if it were true for the Indian, that is, if we eliminated the reservation and compelled them, in a sense, to integrate, it would seem to me that they would probably acculturate and then the majority culture for good or bad would necessarily have to absorb them. There would be modification. I would like your comments.

DR. HALL: I really can't speak about this point because we are too far apart. The Jewish group is a north European group, as you know, and the cultural distance it had to travel was not great. It's the American Jews in Israel that are helping that country solve some of the ethnic problems because Americans have developed some skills for handling ethnic diversity. But unless you have some feeling for what it is like to be an Indian, you simply have no way of judging. With the great emphasis the Jews place on the intellect, the Jews have done extraordinarily well. But we have other groups that do not have this emphasis. You see, my point here is not that you adjust A to B, or B to A. It's much more subtle. What I am suggesting is that we can learn from the rest of the world about coping with life, in this case from other people within the confines of our own national boundaries.

FROM THE FLOOR: I would like to tie together a remark you made in your book which I found quite interesting. You said, "The lower-class Negro in the United States poses a very special problem in his adjustment to city living, which if not solved, may well destroy us by making our cities uninhabitable."

A little further on you state: "The degree to which peoples are thoroughly involved with each other and how they use their time determines at what point they are crowded."

Then you go on to say: "Puerto Ricans and Negroes have a much higher involvement ratio than New Englanders. Highly involved people apparently require higher densities than less involved people."

I am thinking about the remark you made concerning humanizing effects in the mental health field, where the individuals you referred to could become involved with people they are working with. I didn't find it too clear as to whom the cities would become uninhabitable, because all the cities in the Northeast and Northwest are going to become primarily Negro. Perhaps in the future, in terms of manpower potential for the Negro ethnic group, and with the types of skills you seem to imply it has, it will primarily develop along the lines of serving itself. Because I don't really see, given these limits to the situation, and given the reality of discrimination and racial divisions in our society, that the future could involve much direction with the rest of the majority culture that you speak of for those who are going to have to live in the cities. I wonder if I have assessed correctly this thought. Did you mean, per se, uninhabitable for the Negroes who will themselves have to live there?

DR. HALL: We should not confuse high sensory involvement with the impossible conditions that now exist in many of our cities. Just listen to the inhabitants. They will tell you what it's like. And they don't like it. This is not the way people should live. We must humanize cities for everybody. This means putting in the best schools that we can. We may have to plow billions of dollars into the cities now in order to get the educational level of everybody up to the college level. Otherwise, how are they going to learn to use their time creatively? We must also learn to involve people much more in the solution of their own problems. This is important for we have not learned, either as parents or as a group, that the way to develop people is to let them develop themselves.

FROM THE FLOOR: In line with your comments on education, it occurred to me that within the short span of years that lie ahead, there are two institutions that really will have to change, because they are the two institutions that homogenized the cultures of the waves of migrants that came to the United States. The two institutions are politics and education. We are going to have to develop some kind of homogeneity within these systems. Would you like to comment on that?

DR. HALL: Not being a political scientist I am in no position to speak to this point.

FROM THE FLOOR: I am not a political scientist, I'm a psychologist.

DR. HALL: I have never been able to match wits with the political scientists because politics represents a different facet of the same system.

As far as education is concerned, there is going to have to be, I think, a very, very radical change in our educational institutions. Apparently one can start much earlier than we do to enrich experience. Also our educational system is designed for the white middle-class verbally articulate group. We Americans, incidentally, are not alone in this. The French schools in Vietnam taught the same subjects schools in France did. All the Vietnamese had to learn all the Departments of France!

We must find out where the uneducatables are, and break the pattern up. If they are kinesthetic types you would say, "Okay, buster, we are going to teach you to read. You may not have been using your ears. You may have to shift to a typewriter, so you get the reading skill through your fingers." I agree with you, we need some changes.

DR. STEPHANSKY: Before I take another question, I'll ask George Weaver if he wants to comment on the political question.

MR. WEAVER: As the only practicing politician, I will try to answer that question, and also the question about the cities. I wonder whether we are seeing the political forest for the trees, because of new developments in the political system. I have been around this town and involved in politics now for 25 years. As I look around, I see that I have some company. I would just pose the question, "How many here would have anticipated 5 years ago the kinds of state of the Union messages we have had for the last three or four openings of Congress, which are reflections of the political fermentation going on?" We think and cogitate on a problem, talk about it and get pushed into action. We are right at the threshold, I believe, of being pushed into action because of the political fermentation in our local communities. They may not be able to define it as clearly as it's been defined here, either overtly or by implication.

The comparison of the education programs 2 or 3 years ago with those of today, I believe, is just a drop in the bucket to what's coming. With the kinds of experimentation that is going on, as long as our cities are the centers of commerce and of industry a way will be found to make them habitable. If industry moves out of the city, there will be an exodus from the city by Negroes and all others who are now lodged in the cities. Some people call it a revolution. I think of it more as evolution. But I think this is a process far too few bureaucrats understand.

I am reminded of a statement that sounds rather trite, but the longer I live in Washington and wrestle with these bureaucratic problems, the more I am convinced of the wisdom of it, that the only presiding factor of our lives is change. We resist it, but it has a way of working its will to fit the needs of our society, because I still think the will to survive is the strongest will.

DR. STEPHANSKY: Thank you very much.

FROM THE FLOOR: Dr. Hall, in describing your young people who worked in mental institutions, who left other jobs and went to work in institutions, you concluded that this was because they had particular interpersonal skills. Your conclusions were probably based on more than just that. Is it possible that this orientation is simply because these people's particular economic and social condition leads them to question the values of the work society, more than those who are in it? They do not find the same values, and therefore turn to interpersonal work simply because they find more meaning in it. Could this be the case rather than a group having a skill in interpersonal relations as such?

DR. HALL: Which group are you talking about, the patients?

FROM THE FLOOR: The nonpatients, the workers who left jobs in industry and worked with mental patients because they found, I think you said, more meaning. I am simply wondering whether the hypothesis that these particular people have a particular skill, as such, is valid. Could another hypothesis be equally true?

DR. HALL: This is not a matter of *values,* as you phrased it. It's more a matter of what I would call "gut" communication and the satisfaction one gets from communicating with the whole body and

knowing that somebody cares, of being able to interact with another human being and see the results. The machine doesn't let you know when you do well, a patient does. I should also mention in answer to your question that research in process indicates that the group we are referring to is particularly gifted in reading subtle shifts in mood as reflected by minor changes in body motion and attitude; what Dr. Raymond Birdwhistell calls kinesics.

FROM THE FLOOR: Dr. Hall, I have here a report of Dr. Mead's talk of about a year ago. I was interested in the fact that she came to the conclusion, evidently, that Samoa was changing very rapidly. She mentions the fact that the people changed everything at once and did not leave any pieces lying around to drag the rest back. My question is, can you introduce change into ethnic groups? Should the change be introduced rapidly or should it be from within the group and set a pace so that the group can accept the change?

DR. HALL: Margaret Mead was reporting on a case in which people decided to change their own culture. We have a similar case at the beginning of this century when the Fox Indians of Idaho decided they had enough of our broken treaties and double dealing. They gathered their few resources and bought themselves some land and paid taxes on it. They said, "We don't want any white men trespassing. We are going to make it on our own." Their life was not easy at first because the white man did not want them to make it on their own. What they did they did themselves. Whenever this happens people somehow or other seem to make out provided the dice aren't too heavily loaded against them. So that in general change should come from within and not be forced on people.

FROM THE FLOOR: You stated there is a high degree of difference within ethnic groups. There are certain things you categorize as group talents. I am wondering if we can approach this on a mass basis with the idea that all the Negroes in the Chicago area will want to work with human-type jobs, as opposed to mechanical things, if it falls in that quite simple a pattern, or whether you could just clarify this for me?

DR. HALL: I can see that one has to be very careful when talking about these things. The fact that some Negroes show talent in working with people certainly doesn't mean that all of them fall into this mold. What I am suggesting is, however, that we spend a little more time finding out what people do best.

DR. STEPHANSKY: I was thinking how I might try to summarize today's discussion. The afternoon should probably be left to stand as it happened. Yet, I cannot resist the temptation to suggest, Dr. Hall, that you have come before a group interested in the great human potential of our Nation and of the world; and that you have helped us to see in some measure how we might explore that potential in order that, in a very difficult world, we perhaps might realize something of that potential. We are grateful for a superb presentation that stimulated a lively discussion.

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